

# LABOUR

## —Direction or inducement

by VICTOR YATES, M.P.

The real way out of  
our dilemma is . . . to  
prevent the military  
chiefs from draining  
the nation of its valu-  
able man power

## IN THE SHADOW OF THE CRISIS

**T**HIS is obviously no time for complacency. It appears that during the past ten days employers and workers alike have, almost suddenly, come to realise that what they thought to be a bad dream which would dissolve on waking, is in fact a reality. For months past politicians, red and blue, have been making warning speeches about the impending crisis, have talked about the "difficulties of foreign exchange," and have involved themselves and their audiences in the intricacies of "hard" and "soft" currencies.

It sounded beautifully clever and delightfully unreal. And, secretly, everyone thought that somewhere hidden away out of sight, if not in His Majesty's Treasury then perhaps in the great national Bank of England, there was a huge ledger where, after all the forehead wrinklings and worryings, the national accounts were made to balance down to the last groat.

### Agitation and ignorance

**A**ND now look what has happened. At the moment of writing this commentary the Trades Union Congress has held its most momentous meeting since, perhaps, the first years of the war and has broken up in a state of agitation and ignorance. Certain members of it immediately went hurrying round to a meeting of the National Joint Advisory Council to meet the employers' representatives. There, again, they asked each other questions about the "impending crisis" they had been told so much about. Nobody had any answers. They turned towards the chairman, Mr. Isaacs, Minister of Labour, who, after all, as a member of the Government must know something about it all. No, he was not at all helpful.

Somebody took a pen and drafted a communique to the press and public saying that they all felt uncomfortable about the situation but that they had not the remotest idea what it all meant. Nevertheless, they suspected it was much worse than they thought and they hoped for complete information from the Government within a few days.

Now, that is no piece of make-believe. It all happened in London last week.

### Demand for facts

**B**UT what happened inside those two meetings was nothing compared with what was said as soon as the delegates got outside the doors. Those among them with a greater sense of independence than discretion gave voice to criticisms of the Government which might, quite easily, have been prompted by the Conservative Central Office. They said, not in effect but explicitly, that the country was on the very edge of

## COMMENTARY

by

LLEWELLYN CHANTER

economic disruption and that the Government would have to take its courage in both hands, risk its popularity with the electorate, and tell the truth. The Government, they said, must give the public complete, statistical data as to what this crisis meant in terms of bread, meat, fats and all other commodities essential for the continuance of life, without pomposity and circumlocution. Many were angry, all were passionate.

In the week that happened the Government lost the initiative to the industrial leaders, employers and employed. The practical minded Englishman simply wanted to know what he had coming to him, and he wanted to know the facts about it shorn of all the hypocrisy of election-

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

**T**HERE is little doubt that economic power, expressed in terms of increased output, alone can save the nation from economic disaster, unless we become entirely dependent upon the U.S.

Mr. Ernest Bevin has made it clear that his problem as Foreign Secretary would be made much easier if he could put his hands upon 30 to 40 million surplus tons of coal for export purposes. How to attract the workers to the mining, agriculture, iron and steel and textile industries has, therefore, become a paramount issue.

### EASY WAY OUT

The easy way out for those in authority is, of course, to compel people to do as they are told irrespective of their personal feeling or individual tastes. Their directors in that case would not have to use their ingenuity, like salesmen trying to sell an unattractive article, which gradually has to be altered and shaped to suit the public taste. They would be in the position of our present Military chiefs, able to adopt the most systematic and costly method of raising manpower without any necessity for the use of creative imagination which is always required when appealing for voluntary service.

The Tories in power in peace time never attempted to apply the principle of compulsory National Service, either in the military or the industrial fields because Labour in opposition would sternly resist any such attempt.

### THE DANGER TODAY

The danger which faces the workers today is that the Government, having descended to the slippery slope of military conscription may, under increasing pressure from various quarters, submit to further compulsion in the industrial field.

Mr. Deakin, Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, clamours for a limited direction of labour, but he fails to realise that there is already a considerable amount of direction at the present time. Young miners, for example, are only exempt from the provisions of the National Service Acts on condition that they remain employed underground. True that they are allowed to transfer from one pit to another but none are permitted to leave the industry between 16 and 50 years of

age. Agricultural workers and other sections are similarly exempted.

Mr. Will Lawther on the other hand, strenuously opposes on behalf of the miners the direction of outsiders to the mining industry. This, he maintains, has been a failure in the past and there is little doubt that the Bevin boys conscripted during the war to the mining industry were a failure, if not on occasions germ carriers of disaffection, in the industry. Neither output nor goodwill resulted from this imposition.

We can therefore imagine that if direction of labour were extended over a much wider field, it might lead to more strikes, and probably imprisonment in thousands of cases and eventual chaos.

### TRADE UNION OPINION

Whilst there is no evidence that the majority of Trade Unions accept the view put forward by the Transport and General Workers' Union, as the economic crisis approaches, there is a real danger that increasing numbers will seek what appears to be the easy way out. There are even some Labour MPs opposed to military service in peace time, prepared nevertheless to advocate industrial conscription. Their argument is that a case can be made out for industrial conscription for life rather than military conscription for death. Certainly they say a more logical case can be made out for directing people to hew coal, build houses, produce food and clothes than to direct them to the Armed Forces. The real way out of our dilemma, however, is not to extend the principle of conscription in the industrial field but to prevent the military chiefs from draining the nation of its valuable man-power.

### FORMIDABLE TASK

A formidable task confronts the country, and the Government must draw out the highest qualities from the people. This can only be done in the environment of freedom. The human personality cannot grow, cannot make choices, cannot exercise judgment or follow its vocation if some external authority, however good its intentions, determines the course which it shall follow, and however disagreeable may be the idea of inducements which are offered to steer people to unattractive industries, they are infinitely preferable to the evils which would result from direction of labour. Equally, for similar reasons, it would be wrong for the Government to formulate a hard and fast wages policy, which is demanded in some quarters.

### A SOUND POLICY

At the International Labour Conference at Geneva on June 26 last, Mr. George Isaacs, M.P., the Minister of Labour said:—

"So far as terms and conditions of employment are concerned, we in the United Kingdom believe implicitly in the virtues of industrial self-government. Our system of industrial relations rests firmly on the system of collective bargaining between employers and trade unions, to whom we consider should be entrusted the full responsibility for the determination of terms and conditions of employment."

This is a sound policy from which the Government should not depart, for, whereas Governments come and go, the Trade Union Movement remains and its independence, influence and power must be maintained. The utmost vigilance will be required therefore if further inroads upon individual liberty are to be avoided.

The future progress of the world depends upon the growth and right adjustment of human personality and the sooner our people remove all the shackles which were imposed upon them for war purposes, the sooner will they reach the real path to peace and freedom.

## THE END OF A TRADITION

**"T**HE British public has a chronic indifference towards the Army," said Brigadier Head when opening the Commons debate on the Territorial Army last week. Thus began a series of speeches deploring the failure to secure new recruits.

### MOTIVE FOR SERVICE

In the hope of improving the situation Lieut.-Colonel Bromley-Davenport suggested a poster showing "a man in battledress sitting down in the mess about to consume a nice large square meal that he cannot get in Civvy Street."

"Why not show him in the NAAFI, with a pretty lady behind the bar giving him the choice of everything he wants to buy? Possibly, also, there might be a sign with such words as, 'No watered beer here.'"

When later Mr. Sidney Shephard was deploring the lack of opportunities for his local unit to use their two self-propelled guns and was appealing for a centralised training

### Conscription and atom-bombs replace chivalry and service

ground, he was interrupted by Mr. Scollan who asked whether there was any equipment for the Territorials to fight against the atomic bomb.

Mr. Shephard's rebuke did more than answer Mr. Scollan, it gave a possible reason for the "chronic indifference towards the Army" when he said "I am not concerned with that at all. That is a quite unnecessary interruption. I am discussing the practical problems of the Territorial Association."

### BEWILDERED BRASS HATS

And so the bewildered Brass Hats, relics of the pre-atomic age, fumbled on. They talked of local loyalty to the unit, pride in their county organisations, asking that "there should be plenty of colour—bands, flags, all that sort of thing."

While they talked in the Commons, the factories of the world were pouring out modern weapons which served to underline the stupidity of continuing to associate the armed forces with gallantry and chivalry, of presenting the idea that army life was something of which a man could be proud,

conscious of following in a grand tradition.

### PUSH-BUTTON MURDER

The man who stands in a concrete emplacement pressing the switch that will send a rocket missile on its irresponsible and deadly mission is no heir to Sir Philip Sidney or Sir Thomas Moore, rather is he likely to rank along with the murderers of the Infant Princes in the Tower of London, with all those whose cowardly deeds have only been recorded down through the ages when some fresh depth of villany has been reached.

The Territorial Army now needs conscripts to maintain its strength—or else those who will be happy consuming a large square meal which they have not helped to produce. The mantle of shame now completely enfolds the army. The place for the brave men today is with those who shun the use of the murderer's tools, who are not prepared to have the blood of innocent children on their hands. The banners and the flags of gallantry and chivalry are today in the hands of the members of the Peace Movement.



# PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4  
Stamford Hill 2262

## POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	Gt. Britain.	Abroad.
Three months	4s. 4d.	3s. 10d.
Six months	8s. 8d.	7s. 7d.
Twelve months	16s. 6d.	14s. 4d.

## A TEST - CASE

"MILITARY operations are proceeding according to plan"—"Advance columns are reported to have penetrated the outskirts of the town at three points." . . . The stale formulae to which newspapers have been treating us uninterruptedly for the past twelve years must stir a sick revulsion in every reader of the despatches from Indonesia. We can hardly force ourselves to locate those "pockets of resistance" on a map, let alone follow the course of the fighting with anything more than a sigh for peace at any price. And yet the fact remains that, in countries we might have supposed more war-weary even than our own, people are still to be found to whom the old slogans and interests matter more than concession or healing.

It would not surprise us to learn that the Netherlands Government had received assurances of British non-intervention, in the event of its resuming the "pacification" of Indonesia. At any rate, the British Government must have been fully aware of the preparations in hand; it has done nothing whatever to forestall them; and does not, apparently, intend now to go beyond a "very stiff note." It is being left to the Indian representatives to bring the matter before UNO—by which time, we may presume, the Republic will have been effectively quashed.

The embarrassment of the Foreign Office is obvious. Bevin cannot afford to estrange the Dutch, just when his whole policy is directed towards a closer integration of western Europe. Moreover, the deadlock in Indonesia has withheld precious commodities from the market, and much depends upon the ability of Britain, France and Benelux to marshal their colonial resources.

The whole situation reminds one uncomfortably of Manchuria and Abyssinia. It is bound to have serious repercussions, and one is entitled to doubt whether the sacrifice of principle involved will benefit even this country in the long run—whether, in fact, our Socialist Government has not sold its birth-right for a mess of pottage.

To begin with, it is obvious that, by condoning the aggression of Holland, we shall forfeit much of that goodwill in the Far East which our policy in India and Burma has won for us. The time was ripe, as Prof. Catlin lately insisted, for Great Britain to issue an Asiatic Charter, declaring its sympathy with oriental nationalism, not to countenance further European imperialisms.

In the second place, the British Government is relegating to the limbo of diplomatic pretence its repeated claim to base its whole foreign policy upon UNO. It is now clear that the authority of UNO will be invoked only where, as in Greece, vital British interests may be safeguarded. Our concern for peace by negotiation, paraded before the world after every fresh Albanian or Yugoslav aggression, turns out to be no more disinterested than that of the Soviet itself—and Communists everywhere will not fail to make capital out of the fact.

Finally, we risk losing the support of just those elements upon which the closer union and reconstruction of Europe itself depend. By taking a moral initiative—by urging immediate arbitration and support of the Australian and British trade unionists' resolution to boycott shipping bound for Indonesia—we might still rally those substantial sections of world, European and, most important of all, Dutch opinion, which put concession before repression and healing before prestige. By preserving a discreet silence in Parliament, we can only discredit ourselves and our principles in the eyes of internationalists everywhere.

# PEACE AND THE PUBLIC

By Gerald Bailey, M.A.

Director of the National Peace Council.

"PUBLIC RELATIONS" as a new and developing science is one of the characteristic features of our time. With the spread of government, both in the national and international fields, has come a new sensitivity to public opinion, or at least a fuller recognition that without the conscious interest and co-operation of the governed, democratic government must, in the long run become impossible, or its tasks unnecessarily difficult.

Public relations for both national and international official bodies covers more than liaison with organised groups, and involves, of course, the whole field of contact with the general public through the press, the radio, the film and other mass media of public information. But governmental and inter-governmental organisations have recognised the importance and value for their purpose of the large organised public movement represented by the Churches, the Trade Unions, the Co-operatives, the peace organisations and so on—the "private agencies," as the international jargon has it—and are providing special means of contact and consultation with them.

## UN Conference

At Lake Success in February last, I was present at a conference arranged by the Department of Public Information of the United Nations, and attended by representatives of over a hundred international private agencies—very few of them, in point of fact, "peace" organisations in the strict sense of the term, but all of them large and influential. It was not thought desirable to set up any special machinery to provide for the regular consultation that is agreed to be necessary, but it is intended to hold similar conferences at regular intervals, and another is indeed scheduled for September of this year.

The technique of public relations interested me particularly when I was in America, earlier this year, because of its possible relevance to the work of the peace organisations in Great Britain.

In Washington, I had the privilege of being entertained at lunch by the Chiefs of the Department of Public Liaison of the State Department (US Foreign Office). This section of the State Department is responsible for the regular consultations with representatives of private organisations in the United States, which has now become a prominent feature of the activity of both the State Department

and the private organisations themselves.

This present development had its origin in the arrangements for consultation with representatives of voluntary societies at Dumbarton Oaks, and at the Conference in San Francisco, where the United Nations was brought formally into being.

## Origin

Following my lunch meeting, I attended one of these now more or less regular conferences arranged by the Public Liaison Section, which on this occasion was concerned with the forthcoming presentation by the State Department of its draft Trusteeship Agreement, affecting the ex-Japanese Pacific Islands, to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. Mr. Benjamin Gerig of the Trusteeship Section of UN explained and sought to justify as far as he felt it necessary to do so, the terms of the draft Agreement to some fifty or sixty representatives of voluntary organisations. The atmosphere was informal and friendly, and the utmost freedom was given to anyone present to comment on, or criticise any statement or action of the Administration of the State Department itself.

Searching questions were put to Mr. Gerig after his address, by a representative of a US organisation comparable to the League of Coloured Peoples in this country. Verbatim reports were taken of the introductory speeches, and the following discussion, for distribution afterwards to an approved list of organisations, whether they were able to be represented on that occasion or not.

## Searching questions

Dr. Charles Boss, the able Secretary of the Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church of America, told a recent London meeting of a similar gathering arranged by the State Department early in June, to give representatives of the voluntary organisations an opportunity of hearing a personal explanation of the Marshall Plan by the Secretary of State.

These gatherings are becoming a regular feature in the USA, and together with the development of what is called "consultative status" for voluntary bodies, in connection with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, are opening up a new era in relations, between official and unofficial agencies working in this whole field.

A recent consultation with the section of our own Foreign Office, which is concerned with the Economic and Social Council of the UN, on a particular problem, gave Dr. Boss and

this pursuit of selfishness and acquisitiveness, and pursue life in a spirit of altruism and service, then we are under no moral obligation to take part in nonmoral activities of the State.

A note of explanation is here necessary as to my own position, otherwise

## LETTERS

many friends will assume that I have recanted from my position as a CO. I served 2½ years in prison in the first world war. My convictions are actually stronger now than then. I do not partake in the field of commerce, I live apart from it. Nevertheless, I do feel that we all have certain duties as citizens.

It seems quite evident that we shall soon be faced with industrial conscription. This is again economically necessary whilst folk accept jobs or do work because it pays, rather than doing that which is most urgent for the community.

No doubt many of your readers will differ from this point of view. Perhaps they will tell me:—

- (1) Are we justified in acquiring wealth which is actually more than is really necessary for our needs?
- (2) Is not the world of commerce in a state of war?
- (3) If we take part in the world of commerce directly or indirectly for our own personal advantage are we justified in opposing the adoption of conscription for the protection of that commerce?
- (4) Are we prepared to sacrifice the normal comforts and luxuries of life rather than support conscription?

## 250 TO GO

BERNARD SHAW, invited to contribute an article to PN on his ninety-first birthday, writes: "Nobody will buy PN on the off-chance of finding an article by me in it once in five years. What you need is a permanent staff brilliant enough to make EVERY issue readable. Also specials are valueless at present because your paper quota does not run to star copies."

Our paper quota, however, does still permit us to sell another 250 copies a week, and we have not been cut by the newsprint authorities. Thanks to the splendid efforts of readers, only those 250 more are now needed to free us from the necessity of cutting ourselves, and to set us well on the path to wider influence.

If you cannot find an extra reader yourself, therefore, do send a donation to the PN Fund now, which WE can spend on publicity—and on the payment of contributors brilliant enough to make every issue a special, automatically attracting new subscribers.

## THE EDITOR.

Contributions since July 14: £18 15s. 9d. Total for 1947: £171 18s. 7d.

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myself an opportunity of discussing the general method with officials of the Foreign Office, and it is more than likely that in the near future the National Peace Council will submit a considered memorandum on the whole matter to the FO, and, it is hoped, for the ultimate consideration of the Foreign Secretary himself.

## British traditions

Circumstances, of course, are not exactly comparable in the two countries. Our Parliamentary tradition requires that important questions of public policy should be announced and discussed by Ministers first of all in the Commons, and not with external agencies. But that tradition would not prevent consultation with unofficial bodies at a suitable time. Some concession is already made by the Foreign Office, which does consult privately with interested voluntary organisations on specific matters, in which their expert knowledge and experience is of value.

The recent publication (in advance of discussions in the United Nations) of the British draft for a Declaration on Human Rights was deliberately undertaken so that the reaction of public opinion could be measured. There is room for much more organised and regular consultation between the Foreign Office on the one hand, and recognised and responsible voluntary societies and groups on the other, and a Government making special claims to be democratic could well take a lead in this matter. These are practical problems, of course, including the difficulty of ensuring the right and proper choice of organisations to be admitted into the consultations, but these have been solved in the United States, and no doubt could be solved here.

(5) Can modern states inhabited by acquisitive peoples dispense with an armed military or police force?

EDWIN H. CLOGG.

Community Fruit Service,  
Bleadon, Weston-Super-Mare.

## I have seen the war . . .

ACCIDENTALLY I came to the possession of "Peace News," July 4, and I was delighted to find a paper fighting for world-peace in such an open manner.

As a man of 31, I had to work behind the Urals as Russian prisoner of war. Repatriated, I could not go home, for my native place Königsberg (East Prussia), now called Kaliningrad, was annexed by Russia. The single sign of life from my mother and sister, still living there, I received in July last year. Though I wrote home twelve letters, I got no answer.

I have seen the war, and we have to suffer for a long time. So many countrymen look with me to the West knowing that only by conciliation, the wounds will cure the war has blown to all of us. But to foster this spirit of conciliation, we must try to come in contact with honest men, who also have the hot craving to bury the war hatchet for ever.

So I hope to find congenial pen friendships in England, and I would be very obliged to you, if you would help to find friends.

GERHARD ASCH.

24b Eckernförde/Schles., Holstein,  
Donnstag-Lager 6/14,  
Britische Besatzungszone,  
Deutschland.



# HIGH ROAD TO OSLO

This spate of huge conferences — another escape from reality?

ALL but ignored by the Press, the 10,000-strong International Union of Socialist Youth Camp in Denmark came to an end the other day. Its purpose was different from that of similar conferences in the past. No resolutions were passed: the object was to gather together concerned delegates of Christian Socialist-Democratic youth organisations with a view to free discussion and planning for future co-operation.

Both at this conference and the small one held at Elsinore under the leadership of the President of the Socialist Youth International, Bob Molenaar of Holland, there was an astonishing and disturbing lack of delegates from Britain.

Only one English person attended each; and because of this, the writer was kindly invited by President Molenaar to join the discussions—a necessary thing, when it was seriously suggested that the Oxford Group represented the Christian Socialist Youth of Britain, and it was suggested that youth was attracted to the Churches, rather than that the Church-leaders were trying to attract youth, as is more truly the case in Britain.

## At Elsinore

The Elsinore Conference was called to give key delegates a chance to meet quietly, and sort out the ideas aired at Copenhagen, in order that these might be a basis for discussion at yet another conference in Oslo. Dutch representatives preponderated, but it was pleasant to have delegates from the Austrian Youth organisations, and to know that some Germans were expected later. British youth normally stops off at thirty years; but the Czechoslovakian age-limit is thirty-five, so this was accepted as a basis for Conference eligibility. (It would be worth while having an international agreement on that point).

The delegates met at the International People's College, and were welcomed by Principal Manniche, himself a Danish Christian Social Democrat. During the four days from July 18, it discussed:

- 1 The orientation and fundamental difference of the national Christian Socialist youth movements;
- 2 The common responsibility for Europe; and
- 3 The problem of Germany.

I myself had to leave before the end, but not before I had been impressed by the strong sense of responsibility shown, and the will to reach some agreement upon which the youth organisations might act, with a view to urging European statesmen along the path of progress prescribed by Christianity.

By the time I left Elsinore, the ice had been broken, and the conference wheels had been oiled with a quick give-and-take and ready humour—good omens for the settlement of Europe's problems—though the ugliness of life for most people on the Continent was never far distant from the delegates' minds.

## Air of expectancy

I was wishing that I, too, could go on to Oslo. Billed for the greatest post-war assembly of international cannon-fodder, determined to ensure that the guns should go hungry henceforth, it would have something of that air of expectancy which used to exhilarate Geneva in the days before the League of Nations Assembly met; indeed, it would probably have more, since the delegates were young, unsteeped in diplomatic formalities, and convinced of the rightness of their cause.

There were going Germans and British, Japanese and Americans—the US Government had actually put a troopship at the disposal of the Friends' Service Council, for the conveyance of their delegation. But I had an appointment in Angelholm, Sweden, and could not afford the journey to Oslo, four hundred miles away.

Across a choppy sea from Denmark to Sweden; by lorry to within seven-kilometres of Angelholm—and the next car to come along was a black Citroën, driven at speed by a curly red-headed, blue-eyed, freckled youth, who at the first wave of a

hand, skidded it to a swaying stop. In nervous Swedish, I indicated Angelholm as my destination, and unconsciously let slip an English word. Immediately the boy beamed, and in perfect English, invited me to join him in the front seat. A few minutes later he remarked that he was in a great hurry, as he had to reach Oslo, six hundred kilometres away by morning!

## The decision

Oslo in ten hours! And now we were only three kilometres from Angelholm. One kilometre passed, and I had made up my mind: we were again shaking hands, and planning to eat our supper together in Gothenberg. He gave me his cigarettes, told me about himself, declared his pleasure at being able to take an Englishman home with him to Norway that night—and Angelholm slipped by in a 160 Km-an-hour blur.

Soon afterwards we were chasing the last lingering gleams of sunlight in a stormy sky, through mighty pine-forests and along rock-hewn cliff roads overlooking the Skagerack, where an instant's mis-judgment would have plunged us into the sea washing the rocks far below, or flattened us against the precipitous granite wall. Smoothly we sped over main roads of concrete and tar macadam, cursing the dirty rainwater that splashed up against the wind-screen, and at fifteen minutes past midnight, drew to a halt in front of a striped red-and-white barrier—the frontier of Sweden and Norway!

A cursory examination in a well-lit office, by a spotlessly uniformed guard, and the barrier was lifted for us. Two hundred metres of no-man's land, another barrier, and we were once again examined by a harassed

official in civilian clothes, munching chocolate under an oil-lamp suspended from the ceiling of a barely-furnished cabin—and we were in Norway.

It has been the contrast between Sweden and Norway that has struck me most in the last twenty-four hours: the one country rich, organised and happy, with a planned economy that has led to no war in a hundred and thirty-two years; the other valiantly making do in a geographically difficult territory, with conditions made worse by the German invasion. Even the road-surfaces and the road safety precautions are different. Up there in the mountainous frontier-land, the Swedes rig stone-supported, girder-topped road guards, well marked in gleaming white. The Norwegians having little iron, put up with laths of wood fixed to naturally-coloured blocks of stone.

An hour beyond the frontier, we had left behind the tortuous mountain-roads, and were racing along a highway deserted except for a few dancing couples, returning in the early Sunday morning. In Denmark and Norway, nearly everyone sports his national flag in coat-lapel, on bicycle or car, and in passing through Sweden I had been struck by the cordiality between the two nationalities. But now this homing car was once again more and more vigorously greeted by the returning merry-makers, as the first rays of sunlight picked out the hilly suburbs of Oslo at the head of the fjord. There could have been no better introduction to the city of Nansen and Trygve Lie.

## An example

This Norwegian youth, who had picked up a strange Briton in his car six hundred kilometres away, had befriended him, and made it possible for him to reach this great city in time for the conference. deserves to be "mentioned in despatches." I proudly present to the readers of Peace News Mr. Tom Reintz, of Nordstrand, Oslo. He called it all "the welcome of an Englishman to Norway." It was an example which more Englishmen might follow.

## PRESIDENT PERON'S PEACE BROADCAST

calls for a plan of action to materialise the pacifist ideal

The recent broadcast to the world by President Peron of the Argentine, was but briefly reported in the British Press. He concluded a long address by saying:

"It is our wish that the countries and peoples of the earth merge in one feeling of identity, making us understand how much we need one another and giving birth to that ideal concurrence through which labour, freedom of thought and constant creation will become the human laws leading us closer to progress, civilisation and stability. . . .

All this implies the closely related work of humanity in the spiritual and material order, inspired by a lofty ideal of realisation which may be summed up as follows:

- 1 Spiritual disarmament of humanity. To this end it is necessary for pacifist men, women and children to organise themselves and work for the peace of nations in the internal order and for the peace of the world in the international field, endeavouring among other things to do away with the war psychosis affecting thousands of human beings and to eliminate the factions which divide themselves and prepare for war.
- 2 A plan of action designed to materialise the pacifist ideal in the national and international field. The work to be carried out to obtain internal peace must consist in the eradication of capitalistic or totalitarian extremisms, whether of the right or the left, taking as a starting point the development of an appropriate political, economic and social action in charge of the state and the education of individuals, tending to raise the level of social culture to dignify work and humanise capital and especially to substitute systems of struggle for that of collaboration. The work to be carried out to achieve international peace must be based on the forsaking of antagonistic ideologies and the creation of a world conscience, which places man above systems and ideologies, thus rendering unacceptable the destruction of mankind in a holocaust to hegemonies whether of the right or the left.
- 3 A firm purpose to work indefatigably for this cause with the conviction that war is not a solution for the world, whatever the social group which may survive after the disaster, because the depths of misery, suffering and despair into which humanity will be plunged shall afflict everyone equally and apocalyptic chaos will be brought about as a corollary of the grievous errors committed by the men who at present prepare a struggle which would entail the most horrible destruction ever known. Humanity can only be saved by constructive peace, never by struggles which destroy material, spiritual and moral values."

**FRANCIS THOMPSON**  
hailing a lift to a nearby Swedish town, finds himself en route to an Oslo conference at the invitation of the driver.

Oslo, like every other city in Europe, is already overcrowded with its own citizens, and the requisitioning of rooms for the homeless is strictly enforced. Nevertheless, at 4 a.m. the park benches and entrances of buildings were crowded with sleeping men. Their plight—repeated in every city of Europe, and most of the rest of the world—made one wonder if the Conference was going to be sufficiently realistic to formulate any policy that would enable the common man to put his trust in the Church again.

## Changeable churches

The common man in many lands has got slightly tired of the changeable habits of the Christian Churches, which praise him in peace-time for not killing people, yet encourage him to prepare for so doing, and in wartime bless the killers. The very fact that the American Council of Churches cannot make up its mind about the atom-bomb symptomises the difficulties of achieving a pacific international policy; so one felt that if this Conference was going to do other than bury the Christian Church still further in the limbo of mistrust, brave and blunt words would have to be exchanged, and the truths of modern life faced in all their ugliness.

At the same time, the background of Oslo—with its Socialist Christian way of life, its beautiful surroundings and pre-war efforts to bring a goodly standard of life to all its inhabitants—sets an example to the representatives of those bigger and richer countries which balk at providing the physical wherewithal for minds less warped internationally.

## A pacifist gathering

Myrtle Wright, of the Quaker relief organisation, who was in Norway throughout the Occupation, welcomed me to her home in the suburbs. And there on the Sunday evening, I was privileged to meet a distinguished group of pacifist delegates, who had already arrived. It was an informal gathering, designed to find a common path by which the claims of Christian pacifism could be presented to the Conference. A very blunt exchange of views took place. The fears of Europeans in respect of American and Russian imperialistic tendencies were freely discussed, while the Americans explained their difficulty in appreciating the conditions outside their vast territory, remote as it is from all competing States of equal size.

If the realistic discussion that ensued can be repeated in the larger Conference, the results achieved by delegates reporting back to their national organisations may yet re-orientate the life of the world. The pressure of public opinion, thus quickened, upon the ministers for foreign affairs, may provide Mr. Trygve Lie with the necessary support for his request that a tithe of international sovereignty be surrendered to international control.

## The outcome?

The leadership through which world unity might be achieved is represented in Oslo now. The question is, will it be brave enough to use its power? By the time this article appears, it will be clear whether this is to be but one of the spate of conferences taking place in Northern Europe this summer—whether this sudden post-war interest in huge conferences betokens just another escape from reality, the superficial good cheer and good fellowship in new surroundings eclipsing the needs of the world—or whether it is something more.

Fridtjof Nansen, almost single-handed, brought relief to the persecuted Armenians, and found them a new home in Macedonia after the first world war. Is this no longer an age in which great international Christian heroes may get decency into the world by sheer force of personal character?



# PIONEERS OF LAW AND ORDER

by HAROLD S. BIDMEAD

THE story how law and order were brought to the "Wild West" by the early pioneers of America makes thrilling reading.

They were faced not only with the problem of how to prevent men fighting among themselves, but also how to settle disagreements between the different communities or States without bloodshed and war. We are faced with the same problem to-day, but on a world-wide scale.

WE must not allow ourselves to be appalled by the enormity of the task: the whole world to-day is much smaller than America was 150 years ago, if we consider the ease and speed of modern communications.

Though the democratic peoples are well on the way towards the prevention of fighting among individual citizens, by the almost complete abolition of duelling and by making them settle their disagreements by peaceful and legal means, they have neglected the other side of the problem—how to make the different countries or states settle their disagreements by going to Law instead of going to War.

## Live in harmony

America solved her inter-national problem by a system of government which in George Washington's day was a new invention. It is now

## OFF TO GERMANY CORDER CATCHPOOL

CORDER CATCHPOOL, Joint Treasurer of the PPU, is leaving this country for a period of six months' work in Germany. He and Gwen Catchpool are going out under the Friends Relief Service, to act as Wardens of the Friends Convalescent Home, Bad Pyrmont.

He has written to Stuart Morris to say that his absence abroad for so long would in itself have caused him to write and offer to resign his share of the joint treasurership. In view of the anti-conscription resolution as passed by the AGM, and the subsequent decision of the National Council to implement the resolution, he feels bound to press his resignation. Maud Rowntree will therefore be carrying on the treasurership alone for the time being, and we would ask for the same support to her efforts as has been given to the joint appeals.

We would like to take this opportunity of expressing, however inadequately, our gratitude to Corder Catchpool for the service he has rendered to the PPU during the time he has been joint treasurer. It was of special help to us that he and Maud were willing to take over the treasurership when the tragically sudden death of Maurice Rowntree left such a big gap. We wish Corder every success in the particular work which he is going to do, and we know that we shall still have his sympathy, and as far as possible, his help on his return.

## RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., has accepted an invitation from the International FoR to address a series of six public meetings in the British Zone of Germany during the middle of August, centering around Hanover and Cologne. His audiences will be composed in part of miners of the Ruhr coalfield; Mr. Davies himself worked at the coal face in the Rhondda Valley, South Wales, in his youth.

## PPU

### PLANS FOR THE SPECIAL CAMPAIGN TO ABOLISH CONSCRIPTION

are now being made  
The appointment of a whole-time  
CAMPAIGN OFFICER  
is under consideration

Any PPU member interested in such work is invited to write to

Stuart Morris,  
Dick Sheppard House, London,  
W.C.1.

known as "federation." Later, Switzerland, Australia, Canada and the USSR adopted it as a means of enabling their respective national communities or states to live together in harmony, without interfering too much with each other's private affairs.

Present-day pioneers for law and order are now carrying the federal tradition into the world at large. They believe that those comparatively small-scale experiments proved that federation can solve the problem of world peace.

The term "federation" is on many lips nowadays, and the danger is that it will be used as a sort of magic password to mean almost everything or practically nothing, ranging from famines of nations, like the British Commonwealth, to alliance like the United Nations and confederations like the old League of Nations or the American League of Friendship which, in 1789, the Americans scrapped as a dangerous nuisance in favour of the federal union which has endured to this day.

## What Federation is

A federation is a commonwealth of peoples in which each member-state has a parliament and government to look after its own national affairs, but in which international affairs (mainly defence and foreign policy) are dealt with by another parliament and government, called the federal government, elected by the citizens of the federation as a whole.

The federal government cannot interfere in the affairs of the national governments, and the national governments cannot meddle in federal affairs.

Disputes and borderline cases are decided by a Federal Supreme Court, or sometimes by a referendum of the people.

The "rules of the game" are written down in the federal constitution. The way in which a democratic community sees to it that the rules are kept is too complicated to be discussed in this short article, but it works rather like a see-saw, with the federal government at the one end and the States governments at the other, with the Supreme Court and the conscientious citizens in the middle, keeping the balances by transferring their influence from side to side as required by the merits of each case.

## Not pious hopes

Another difference between a federation and the confederations, leagues and other systems I have mentioned is that in a federation, the central authority has governmental power; it makes laws, not pious recommendations which may or may not be carried out.

Even on those few occasions when the old League of Nations managed to come to a decision it was never certain that the states members would act upon it. In the more important questions, the same is true of UNO.

A so-called "law" becomes a farce unless it is obeyed, and obedience is unlikely unless the laws act directly upon each individual citizen, not indirectly through his national parliament.

## Dealing with Hitlers

Thus, if a Hitler were to arise in a federation, federal police (like G-men or Canadian Mounties) would step in before he got powerful, and arrest him for conspiring to commit a breach of the Federal Charter of Rights; there would be no need to wait until the peace-loving peoples had to make war on an entire nation just because it was dominated by gangsters. When Al Capone got control of the State of Illinois, the American Federal Government put him in jail without having to make war on his victims.

There is a great deal of talk nowadays about an international police force. Policemen should seldom need more than a truncheon, or sufficient arms to tackle the criminals individually. If we can only stop a criminal by blowing hundreds of thousands of people to smithereens

## AWKWARD QUESTION

WHEN, at question time in the Commons on Wednesday of last week Mr. Bevin promised to look into Mr. Driberg's suggestion that Hansard should be available in the information rooms at German PoW camps, Mr. W. Fletcher asked whether it would not be wise to make an exception of the previous Monday's edition.

The edition in question was virtually an Army Black Book, for, in addition to the debate on the Territorial Army referred to on page one of this week's PN, a post-mortem was held on the £28 million loss which the country had to meet as the result of the currency operations of her armed forces in Europe.

with an atomic bomb, it is time we stopped talking as if international law was a game of murderers versus policemen.

A police force must be controlled by a government, otherwise it will degenerate into a gang of SS-men, as in Nazi-Germany. The international police force would have to be controlled by a democratic international government, since the democratic peoples would quite naturally refuse to obey laws which they had not made themselves.

Those of us who wish civilised life to continue on this planet beyond the next twenty years should denounce the criminal folly of statesmen who ask us to put our trust in an organisation which can only enforce peace by waging war. Alexander Hamilton, writing in 1789 in various New York newspapers, showed that the American League of Friendship was ominously similar to our present-day UNO. He wrote: "If military action is the only means with which to secure obedience, such a state of affairs can certainly not deserve the name of government, nor would any prudent man choose to commit his happiness to it."

And George Washington, answering those who trusted in the "peaceful influence" of their American League, wrote: "Influence is not government. Let us have a government, by which our lives, liberties and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once."

These words are as true today as they were 160 years ago.

## WOMAN'S VIEWPOINT

AS women are, by force of circumstance and by the enlargement of their horizons, taking an ever-growing part in public affairs, it becomes increasingly important that their interests should be adequately represented. We do not always realise how unusual, even now, an equal representation is—the "man's world" is so much taken for granted that women who do things still have a special news-value, instead of being accepted *per se*. (And we do not mean the immortal Amber, nor her successor in the Sunday Dispatch—who celebrate their newsprint cut with a sequel to the adventures of Miss Blandish).

## That's all, thank you

The Women's Co-operative Guild, at their recent Blackpool Conference, passed a resolution urging the inclusion of women on the Peace Conference Committee. This is surely an appalling omission! Is the only "National Service" for women to be War-service?

## Women M.P.s

We pride ourselves on our democracy in the British Commonwealth, but an interesting report comes from Italy (via Worldover Press). For the first time women are sitting in Parliament, and the total number is now twenty-one, ranging in age from twenty-six to sixty-six. The Catholic-Democratic and Communist parties have each nine members; the Socialists two; and the Qualunquists one. The star-turn appears to be Bianca Piacchi, thirty-year-old Socialist with a degree in literature and philosophy. We have exactly twenty-one women in our present Parliament (the highest ever), and of the Dominions, New Zealand come first with four! This is hardly progress.

Readers may be interested to hear by the way, that Sybil Morrison (of Women for Westminster) is organising an equal-pay demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Saturday, September 27. Further details later.

## Dabbling in the dew

A Palestinian biologist has come to London to lecture to the Royal Meteorological Society on the measurement of dew. It is reported that "there is now in Palestine, a network of dew stations, where measurements are taken by early-rising volunteers. It has been suggested that the method should become the international standard of dew-measuring."

These days, this is no mean achievement. One can imagine the scene.

Where are you going to, my pretty maid?  
I'm going to Paris, sir, she said.  
My cows must wait till the Peace is made.  
And what will you do there, my pretty maid?  
I shall measure the dew there, sir, she said.  
The dew from Alaska to Adelaide.  
Oh, may I come with you, my pretty maid?  
You'll have to be early, sir, she said.  
You'll have to be early to make the grade.  
And what is the forfeit, my pretty maid?  
Your national sovereignty, sir, she said.  
You must join the Dew International Brigade.

EIRENE.

## Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, July 31, 1937

"It is now, when the clouds are coming down so low as to appear to overwhelm us, it is now that we must make our voices heard, and renew with a thousand-fold strength our vows and our determination to struggle on till war shall cease."

These words of George Lansbury, at the opening session of the conference of the War Resisters' International, held in Copenhagen last week-end, struck the note which ran through all the deliberation of this conference.

"I am convinced that many refusals have happened since the existence of compulsory military service,

of which cases nobody ever knew," writes a German war resister, now living outside Germany.

Our only chance to strengthen democracy and build a socialist world is to

Refuse to co-operate with the "National" Government, and resist all forms of militarism (the Government would never go to war except in the interests of capitalists).

Discourage working-class youth from joining the Services, and becoming infected with the poison virus of dictatorship.

—Sydney George Conbeer.



# INDIA'S PATH TO FREEDOM

IT was not hard to spot J. C. Kumarappa in the lounge of the Mount Royal Hotel last Wednesday. West End lounges do not abound in Nehru caps and white homespun; indeed, they do not abound in people at all at 8.30 a.m.—the hour at which he had invited me for an interview (Dick Sheppard, I remember, missed a meeting with Gandhi in London because the latter proposed a walk in the park at 6.30 a.m.).

Mr. Kumarappa shook me cordially by the hand and conducted me upstairs to his room. There, neatly laid out on the table, were his books—"Economy of Permanence," "A Plan for Rural Development," "Women and Village Industries," "Christianity, its Economy and War of Life"—this last, he remarked, written during a two-year spell of imprisonment, incurred by his outspoken attacks on the assignat system through which Indians had been induced to export food during the War. "I told them it would mean famine, and it did—the Bengal Famine of '43."

Mr. Kumarappa is secretary of the All-Indian Village Industries Association, which seeks, by education and experiment, to implement the more constructive and less popular side of Gandhi's programme—the conversion of India into a community of communities.

## The social unit

"I conceive the self-governing village community as the natural social unit," he explained. "Villages should be grouped in areas, between which an exchange of products could take place, but the area councils appointed by the villages would exist for co-ordination, not coercion. The towns would be essentially market-places for the surrounding countryside. Centralisation, both of industry and government, should be avoided as far as possible."

"War is inherent in any economy based on the accumulation of wealth, more especially if methods of production are used which demand localised and limited sources of power, such as coal and oil. The incessant, artificial stimulation of new demands actually diverts men from the production of necessities to the mass-production of luxuries, and thus impoverishes them. The man who sees his resources running out, begins to covet his neighbour's."

"The well-being of men and women is to be found in creation, rather than consumption. Mass-production methods reduce them to automata, and as often as not, the commodities produced are harmful. Take wireless-sets for instance. I have been struck in England, by the decline in musical ability due to the introduction of wireless. Fewer people learn to sing or play for themselves, yet music and art should be the spontaneous expression of a people's life."

"Mass-produced methods, therefore,

Mr. Kumarappa is Secretary of the All-India Village Industries Association and a regular contributor to Gandhi's Harijan.

should be limited as far as possible, to the manufacture of such equipment—printing presses, hydro-electric installations, etc.—as will enable men and women in their communities to produce what they need for themselves. I do not say what is, or is not, necessary: that is for the people to discover. What is essential is that they should develop self-discipline and self-control proportionate to every technical innovation, and that is what Gandhiji preaches first and foremost.

"But you will see that decentralisation is no less necessary politically than economically, because true democracy can only exist in small communities."

"How far," I asked, "is this ideal accepted by the Indian masses and leaders who have followed Gandhi in his struggles for national independence?"

## Rapacious capitalism

"Not far, unfortunately. The evidence is that the Congress Indians will out-British the British. Our own capitalism will be as rapacious as yours. But it is still true that the capitalist and financial tremble for what Harijan may say week by week."

Mr. Kumarappa is a regular contributor to Gandhi's Harijan. Indeed, it was his masterly analysis of the nature of "progress" in a recent number, that led me to seek this interview.

I wondered whether there was any possibility of some of the Indian rulers in the States, where native capitalism is as yet comparatively undeveloped, initiating a policy of decentralisation from above. Mr. Kumarappa swiftly dispelled this conjecture. "No such policy is possible apart from the general self-discipline and self-control I have referred to, and if that existed in the States, the Rajahs would cease to exist, since the demand for democracy would be irresistible."

"Perhaps," I was reminded at this point, "you can explain an apparent contradiction which has puzzled me in Gandhi's recent statements on the British withdrawal. Not long ago, he was saying that our sole duty was to get out, even if that meant leaving the country to anarchy. Yet here in India News, he is reported as follows:

"The Englishman, Mr. Gandhi observed, was quitting because he had discovered that it was wrong to hold India in bondage on economic and political grounds. Herein he was quite sincere. But he was quite content to leave India as a cockpit between two organised armies. Before quitting he was setting a seal of approval on the policy of playing one community against another and he lacked the courage to do right as far as the States were concerned. Mr. Gandhi hoped that before the British family left on August 15 at the latest, they would bring the two parties together, now that one of them had got all it wanted. The British could do so if they wished."

"I do not see quite eye to eye with Gandhiji on the first point," Mr. Kumarappa observed. "I don't think the British are animated all that

much by concern for India: they're getting out because there's nothing else they can do. But what Gandhiji implies here is that the British are still interfering in Indian politics, instead of leaving them to the Indians themselves. And there I agree."

"Do you mean to say that the British Government really wanted to leave a separate Pakistan?"

"I am certain of it. Why, through the influence they will retain over a Moslem buffer-state, they will be able both to affect the policies of the Arab League countries, in which their oil interests are vitally involved, and to resist Russian penetration of the Near and Middle East. Remember, Russian ambitions are reflected in the new territorial demands of Afghanistan."

## No communism

"Is Communism likely to become strong in India?"

"No. There is little economic basis for Communism in the countryside. There is lacking even the vast contrast in living-standards between the peasants and their landlords, which distinguished pre-revolutionary Russia. On the other hand, the Communists are more disciplined, more self-sacrificing and more unscrupulous than our Congress politicians nowadays. When a Party comes to power, it is soon a happy hunting ground for self-seekers and opportunists. The qualification for membership of Congress used to be imprisonment—but prison itself is now respectable!"

At this point, Mr. Kumarappa had to leave for an appointment elsewhere. We sallied forth into Oxford Street together. On a nearby bomb-site pneumatic drills were blasting foundations, and the bars of passers-by. He turned to me with an expression of anguish: "The music of civilisation," he exclaimed, and vanished onto a 13 bus.

F. A. LEA.

## W DOLLARS.

THE direct U.S. dollar requirements of the Service Departments during the 12 months ending in mid-1948 were given in a written reply to a Commons question as amounting to 12 million dollars. In addition oil to the value of some £20 million pounds will be required, much of which will cost dollars directly or indirectly. Food and other materials will also require further dollar expenditure which cannot be closely estimated.

## HOSPITALITY WANTED

STEPNEY PACIFIST SERVICE UNIT would be very glad to receive offers of hospitality in the south of England, for children from East London during the summer months. They themselves could accommodate another full-time field-worker, or person willing to act as Organising Secretary. Offers and applications to 6/355 The Highway, E.1.

## MIDDLE EAST PoWs—77,222

During the month of June, 14,682 PoWs were repatriated from Great Britain, and 4,760 from the Middle East where 77,222 prisoners were still held at June 30. 898 prisoners are still held in Malta.

## FIRST OFFICIAL FIGURES OF U.S. COs

AMERICAN C.O. statistics were given for the first time in a U.S. Government publication when the President's Commission on Universal Military Training reported that "25,000 individuals were inducted into the armed forces as conscientious objectors and a further 52,000 individuals between the ages of 18 and 25 were classified as C.O.s, of whom 11,868 actually reported for work of national importance."

"In addition to these two groups," the report continued, "some persons who claimed conscientious objection were indicted in a group of about 13,000 persons who were sent to prison and an additional 3,000 were fined or placed on probation as a result of violations of the Selective Training and Service Act."

The American War Resisters' League report that the Bureau of Prisons at May 1 listed 15 men in prison as C.O.s, 91 Jehovah's Witnesses, and 832 other Selective Service violators.

## Lord Pakenham welcomes N.P.C. deputation

LORD PAKENHAM, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Minister responsible for the British Zone in Germany, on July 21 received a deputation on behalf of a Committee of the National Peace Council concerned with the German question.

The deputation which consisted of Mr. Carl Heath, Mr. R. W. Sorensen, MP, Mrs. Duncan Harris, Mrs. Dorothy Warner and Mr. Gerald Bailey, discussed with the Chancellor considered proposals for the improvement of conditions in the Zone, with particular reference to requisitioning policy, the control of the Black Market, the return of PoWs, and relations between British personnel and the German people.

The Minister, who had just returned from a visit to Germany, received the deputation most sympathetically, and encouraged them to come to him again for fuller discussions of the problems which both he and they had so constantly in mind.

## COMMONWEALTH RESOLUTION ON PoWs

The following resolution has been passed unanimously by the Executive Committee:

"Commonwealth declares that the holding of prisoners-of-war of German or of any other nationality in captivity two years after the cessation of hostilities is entirely indefensible on humanitarian grounds, and therefore calls upon the Government to release all such prisoners immediately for work at TU rates of pay and under TU conditions pending the speedy repatriation of those who do not express a preference for remaining in this country."

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

## MEETINGS, &c.

BOURNEMOUTH. Garden Party, 3 p.m. Mrs. Hull, Enniscott, High Howe Lane. 12 PoWs; American Tea. All welcome.

## ACCOMMODATION

SEASIDE HOLIDAY acmdtn. for vegetarians at Innisfree, St. Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent.

OFFICE ACCOMMODATION, convenient for City & West End, and with all services, available at reasonable rent. Apply Manager, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

MOTHER, BOY 5, seeks Holiday post Aug.-Sept. Help Domestic, Children, Caretaking. Box 731.

PACIFIST, MALE, 27, seeks room/s furnished/unfurnished in London. Box 733.

LAKE DISTRICT. "Beck Allans" and "Rothay Bank," Grasmere. Attractive Guest Houses for strenuous or restful holidays. First class vegetarian diet. Dormitory accommodation at special rates. Enquiries to: Isabel James at Beck Allans. Tel.: Grasmere 129.

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## LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

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LONELY? JOIN Friendship Circle. Details 6d. Sec. 34 Honeywell Rd., London, S.W.11.

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## SITUATIONS VACANT

FRIENDS RELIEF Service urgently needs two full-time shdnd. typists (good speeds) for wk. at Friends House. Hostel acmdtn. available. Offers to F.R.S. Personnel Dept. Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

CITY FIRM with Christian ideals has vacancy for boy or youth; encouragement and training given to one of suitable character and ability; good prospects for interesting and remunerative career. Alternate Saturdays off. Write Box 732.

## SITUATIONS and WORK WANTED

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ECONOMY LABELS at half price! 2s. for 200 (including postage). These labels are excellent publicity for PN and PPU, but each reqs. a minor alteration to correct price of PN. 25% discount on 1000 lots. Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

## MISCELLANEOUS

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## Will social legislation go?

### COMMENTARY CONTINUED

earing, mandates and keeping party faith.

#### Effects of crisis

NOW, the Government will either have to make confession to the public—or risk the consequences. The trouble in store for the country can equal, in its accumulative effects, anything it experienced throughout the war. It will not be a question of adjusting the accounts and giving a spurious air of solvency to an actual condition of bankruptcy. The effects of the crisis, when it comes, will be measured in disease, unemployment, mental depression and all the physical manifestations of extreme poverty. No election manifestoes or exhortations to "Keep Right" or "Keep Left" will give one pennyworth of succour in those days, just as in these days the "Work or Want" slogan provides nothing but a basis for the humour of the cartoonist or the pencil of the idle schoolboy.

#### Labour critics

THE lead now given by the trade unionists and employers alike is, to my mind, one of the most significant developments in recent times. It is of historic importance and could easily alter the whole trend of our political life. If the demand that they are making is insisted upon, and there is no reason to believe that it will not be, then the whole programme of social legislation which the Government has put through and intends, in the future, to put through, will come up for the severest scrutiny.

The real importance of the present situation lies in the fact that these demands upon the government for a complete revelation of the extent of our future discomforts comes, not from the Tory Opposition in the House of Commons, but from the Government's own supporters. It comes, too, not simply from the trade union leaders but from members of the Labour Party in the House of Commons.

Question time in the House has given evidence of this growing state of alarm, and in the knowledge of the extent of this alarm the Opposition is being careful to avoid, as they earlier intended, moving a vote of censure on the Government for their neglect in dealing with the country's economics, but contenting themselves with a full debate. By adopting such a course they will give the Labour dissidents a chance of airing their criticisms and, if need be, demonstrating their objections to the way the Government is handling the affairs of the nation.

#### Social programme

IT cannot be imagined that the Government will find itself in a very happy situation. Once it has to admit that the nation's food and the materials upon which it works will

have to be cut down it calls attention to the validity of its social programme which, as it promised the people, would lead them into green pastures.

It will give rise to the question as to whether the time spent in the last two years on changing the economic basis of finance, transport and coal was time well spent in view of what is about to happen to us; whether the change from a private to a national basis in our coal industry will keep out the cold draughts of winter in twelve weeks' time and, most important of all, whether the Government is gambling on the Marshall plan, an adventitious scheme initiated three thousand miles away across the Atlantic, to see them through the crisis.

All these are justifiable questions and they must receive answers if the country is not to lose the last vestige of faith in its political leaders for, when that happens, a large step is taken along the road to anarchy. We may have no doubts about the necessity for nationalisation. Many of us who try to take an objective view of the national economy would agree that it would be anachronistic to maintain industry on its basis of a hundred years ago. The question however is, whether or not the two years immediately after a war was a good time to undertake the overhaul and whether our rulers showed wisdom and ability in doing so.

A highly-placed member of the staff of the American Embassy in London said to me this week: "I am glad you nationalised your mines." I was a little surprised at this from an American. Then he added: "It has taught us a lesson not to undertake a similar experiment in the United States."

Next week's commentator:

R. W. SORESENSEN, MP.

## Publications Received

The War Myth in United States History, by C. H. Hamlin. Atlantic Christian College, Wilson, N.C., 50 cents.

THE thesis of this interesting brochure is that war is not dependent on human nature but on the human point of view and that this can be altered by honest education. In modern times at least, war is impossible without high pressure propaganda, which generally takes the form of persuading the people that the war is a defensive one against an aggressive enemy. This is the War Myth propagated in every country.

The author takes each of the major wars in which the United States has been involved—The Revolutionary War, that of 1812, that against Mexico in 1846, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War of 1898, and the two World Wars—and analyses them to bring out the real as distinct from the alleged causes.

In every case he is able to adduce evidence to show that the organs of propaganda distorted the facts in order to convince the country that it was the innocent victim of a totally evil enemy, whereas in reality the politicians and the financial interests deliberately provoked the conflict in the hope of getting economic or other advantage. Even Pearl Harbour, now represented as the classic example of unprovoked attack, is shown to have been, at least partly, led up to by American provocation, the motive being the desire to safeguard white imperialism in the Far East.

There is a widespread recognition in this country that economic motives play a large part in causing wars, but, clothed in these general terms, the thesis has not sufficient emotional appeal to produce a strong reaction against war. Something on the lines of the work under review done for British history might have more effect by showing concretely how the nation has been deceived in the past and that it will certainly be deceived again in the future unless it learns from past experience.

A. K. J.

## FOOD FROM INDONESIA WOULD QUIETEN DUTCH OPPOSITION

From our Dutch Correspondent

JULY 20, 1947, was a black day in Dutch history, but not unexpectedly, it had been provoked by the Dutch from the beginning. With typical fascist hypocrisy the Dutch Government justified the measures as police-measures; the second day of the fighting it changed the name into "violence sui generis"; but in reality it was war.

In June it was obvious that the long-prepared war would come. The claims of the Dutch grew day by day and were contrary to "Linggadjati" and absolutely unacceptable for the Republic. But even if the Republic had accepted all these imperialist claims, war would still have broken out, as the Dutch would have made the debate about a comma written with pencil or with pen into a *casus belli*. Behind all this is the terrible need for food in the Dutch-occupied enclaves on republican territory. The military aggression first of all tends to occupy food-territories. When the Dutch possess these, they perhaps will negotiate anew, and continue their immoral imperialist threatening of the republic still more effectively, as the republic then will lack most of its fertile territory and all of its harbours.

#### PACIFISTS PROTEST

The pacifist organisations: Kerk en Vrede, Algemene Nederlandse Vredes Actie, Algemene Jongeren Vredes Actie have each protested against this war policy. They ask for arbitration and negotiation, intervention by UNO, and the pacifist youth movements declare that everybody has his own responsibility in this case and must know that the way of violence will be a *circulus viciosus*. The Communist party is radically against this immoral aggression. Within the Labour party exists among the rank and file and many prominent people the clear knowledge that this war is treason to the first principles of socialism, Christianity and humanism. A close contact between most of these oppositional groups is growing. An

early military defeat of the Republic will isolate them from the body of the Dutch people, who in their heart are imperialist and unconscious of the real situation. But if a guerilla war robs this people of many of its sons, perhaps a disposition to fight this government will grow.

What we have to hope for, is at first, immediate intervention by foreign powers and the proclamation of international guardianship over Indonesia, as the Dutch proved incapable and unwilling to resign from their imperialist position.

I personally hope that the anti-war opposition in this country will understand now, that no Linggadjati, product of violence and imperialist corruption, will prove a salvation, but only the unconditional recognition of a sovereign Republic of Indonesia. No liberated people should ever make a pact with its former rulers in the first years of its existence. There is no good faith in any dispossessed ruling class or race; this is a very clear conclusion from the last years experiences. The Dutch opposition should back the Indonesians unconditionally and spoil the well known and dangerous national unity that makes this war possible. But I do not believe that without some very serious losses the apathetic and passive attitude of the people will be changed.

And if the Dutch aggressors would succeed in sending rubber, rice, fruit, tea, coffee to Holland, from the so-called liberated territories, almost nobody would notice the continuous murdering, strangling of the Indonesian territory by the Dutch, most people would shut their eyes and thankfully accept these products of aggression, justifying them as products of some police-measures, taken in full responsibility by a responsible government.

#### Statement by the British Council for Colonial Freedom

THE British Centre for Colonial Freedom, composed of British organisations which have always defended the right to independence of the subject of peoples of the British Empire, expresses its abhorrence of the aggression of the Dutch Government against the Indonesian Republic.

We welcome the action taken by Dutch and Australian trade unions, in refusing to handle materials for the war against the Indonesian people, applauds the appeal by Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian Government, and calls upon the British Labour and Trade Union Movement to press its Government by every available means to give unconditional support to the Indonesian claim, when it is considered by the Security Council of the United Nations.

DOUGLAS G. ROGERS.  
Hon. Sec.

#### TO COMBAT NATIONALISM . . .

THE immediate task of the German Social Democrats is to combat nationalism in general and nationalism in their own country in particular. This does not mean abandoning our own people, but it is the only means of keeping this nation alive and helping her regain the esteem of other nations, and her own self-respect.

—Dr. Kurt Schumacher, Chairman of the German Social Democratic Party.

#### Words of Peace - No. 217 True unity and false

One of the most delicate problems of our time lies in the attitude we adopt towards our enemies. From the Christian point of view the enemy was still our neighbour, created in the image of God. This is no longer so. When the enemy is in question, we now consider that anything is permitted by our supposedly superior values. The world is torn by hatred and dissension. The power of the enemy is contagious; we imitate him; murder becomes a right. What we see is a fundamental contradiction of society, the result of these terrible wars. On the one hand, everything is universalised, nothing remains local. A thing which happens in one part of the world has its repercussions everywhere. Previously unknown means of communication—telephone, aeroplane, the press, radio, the cinema—have drawn together the lives of peoples and states into a universal whole. War itself has become universal, total. And yet there is no longer unity or brotherhood, but open hostility. Our union is the product not of good, but of evil. The threat of a new war is the first consequence of this. We cannot bring ourselves to renounce the sovereignty of national states which alone will make true unity possible.

—"The Fate of Modern Man," by Nikolai Berdyaev. "The Listener," July 24, 1947.

#### PEACE AIMS PAMPHLET No. 42

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Published from 8 Blackstock Road, London, N.4 by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co. (T.U.), London, N.16.